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PRESIDENT DE KLERK ANNOUNCES IN PARLIAMENT FURTHER MEASURES TO REPEAL MAIN PILLARS OF APARTHEID LEGISLATION

[Note: This issue is published in pursuance of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989 by the United Nations General Assembly at its sixteenth special session.

It contains the text of the address by President F. W. de Klerk at the opening of the South African Parliament at Cape Town on 1 February 1991, as well as some reactions to it from the international community.]

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I. ADDRESS BY STATE PRESIDENT F. W. DE KLERK,
AT THE OPENING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT ON 1 FEBRUARY 1991

From this chamber a year ago tomorrow, South Africa was placed finally on a new course. Events succeeded one another in rapid succession and I have no doubt that our country is irrevocably on the road to a new dispensation. The goal, with the removal of discrimination, is to give all South Africans full rights in every sphere of life.

In the short span of a single year, substantial progress was made. The Government is determined to build on the foundations laid purposefully, efficiently and with due speed.

South Africa cannot allow or permit the dynamic process of reform to slow down.

Consequently, the process of fundamental reform and all it entails is the first priority, not only among politicians, but among all. Organizations, columnists, academics, churches and especially the man in the street are thinking and talking about reform continuously. It could hardly be otherwise, since it is, indeed, the future of our country and of every one of its people that is at stake.

Two basic questions arise in relation to reform: what has to be done; and what needs to be abolished?

Today I wish to emphasize the positive, but shall also make announcements on that which has to be abolished.

The initiatives of the past year have prepared the way for a new South Africa. Our task this year will be to give greater content to our vision of what the new South Africa should be like. Simultaneously, we have to give impetus to our resolve to build a new South African nation.

There were centrifugal forces that promoted confrontation, hatred and violence, that thrived on envy, suspicion and fear, and alienated South Africans from one another.

Against this, the vision of a new South Africa brought most South Africans increasingly closer together. In most hearts there is a yearning for peaceful solutions and cooperation. The majority are tired of the negative and destructive. They wish to take hands, but do not always know how to do this.

These facts place the responsible and positive leadership corps in our country before this challenge:

The time has arrived for nation-building.

I wish to accept this challenge today and to invite every leader in every

field to join me in doing so.

In South Africa, the task of nation-building is formidable because of the diversity of our population. We lack the natural cohesion of a single culture and language that frequently forms the cornerstone of nationhood. Consequently, we shall have to rely heavily on the other cornerstone - that of common values and ideals.

I have taken the liberty, on the basis of an analysis of the views of a wide spectrum of leaders, of formulating a set of these common values and ideals. Without laying claim to it being complete or the last word on the subject, I believe that it may serve as a point of departure in the search for a national consensus.

The full text will be released today under the title "Manifesto for the new South Africa".

I believe that these values and ideals could provide the cohesiveness of a new South African nation, of a nation that will include all peace-loving South Africans on an equal footing. Furthermore, a manifesto such as this will be able to be associated with a bill of human rights to which the Government is already committed. It should also give direction to the constitutional negotiations that lie ahead.

In a nutshell, the basic values and ideals, as formulated in the Manifesto, and as they have crystallized out of the national debate, could be summarized thus:

The basis of the new South Africa should be justice. The great majority of South Africans desire a just State that will guarantee basic liberties, rule out arbitrary actions and domination, and will require and assure responsible citizenship. Everyone desires a just dispensation in which fairness will be the point of departure.

On this basis, South Africans ask that the new South Africa should epitomize the following objectives:

- They want peace. They wish to be assured that they and their families and their property will be safe;

- They want prosperity. They wish to share in a sound and growing economy that will make employment opportunities and better living conditions possible for everybody and allow everybody to reap the fruits of their labours;

- They want progress. They wish to have effective educational, health and welfare services, as well as adequate housing and recreational facilities.

On these broad, basic values and ideals we can found a new South African nation. They do not belong exclusively to any single political party. They are universal.

They find expression in the hearts and dreams of all successful, prosperous and stable nations.

We may differ about how we should realize these values and ideals. It is in the nature of political parties within a democracy to differ with one another. But we have to agree with one another on basic value systems. There simply is no room in the new South Africa for the alternatives to these values and ideals. There is no room for injustice, tyranny, domination, violence or for social degradation and economic decline.

South Africa dare not make the mistakes that have led to improverishment and dictatorship in so many countries of the world.

Therefore, no matter the pressure or from whence it comes, I shall not be instrumental in creating a dispensation here that is out of step with the basic values and ideals of the world's successful democracies and economies.

If we build the new South African nation on the foundation of these values and ideals, a good future awaits us and our children:

- We shall be able to unite the rich diversity of our population behind common goals;

- We shall be able to settle our differences through cooperation and peaceful negotiation;

- We shall be able to lay the foundations for a new, comprehensive South African nation, which will include all our people with allegiance and loyalty to our common fatherland;

- We shall become part of the international community - finally, fully and with honour and dignity - and play a full part in the rest of Africa and the world;

- We shall be able to enter the new century as one of the most successful and dynamic nations of the world.

That is our vision. That is our intent. That is our challenge.

To this I commit myself. And I ask every leader to support me in this. If South Africans make the essence of a manifesto such as this their own, then the foundations of our new nation will have been firmly laid.

With single-minded unity of purpose, we must build our new South African nation around these values and goals. Constructively, we have to mobilize all the energy, skill and inventiveness of every individual towards building a new South African nation, a nation that will stand proudly in its rightful place amongst the nations of the world. If South Africans do not truly become a nation, there will be no peace.

Multi-party conference

Discussions on the way forward in this regard have taken place regularly and with increasing frequency among political parties and interest groups.

There is growing consensus that the time has arrived for a multi-party conference.

The Government is playing a key role in promoting this idea. So have others. At the end of a fully representative meeting of leaders of first and second-tier governments, which was attended by the chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils, Chief Ministers of the Self-governing Territories and Provincial Administrators, a joint statement was issued on 30 November 1990.

I quote from it:

"The meeting strongly supported the view that a multi-party conference must be convened urgently in order to set in motion a process through which consensus on a future negotiation forum could be reached. The meeting committed itself to support the steps the State President may take in this regard. Such a multi-party conference should include as many political parties as possible."

Against this background, the Government was pleased to take note of the anniversary message of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) of 8 January 1991, in which the principle of a multi-party conference as a first step that could lead to the adoption of a new constitution was also accepted.

The result is that most of the major political groupings are now ready to attend multi-party exploratory talks. I trust that these talks will begin soon.

I am also convinced that this approach is the best way to ensure that the process, as well as the outcome, will be legitimate, durable and acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

In this connection, the Government declares its opposition to the idea of an elected constituent assembly. It is of the opinion that the negotiation of a new constitution should be the responsibility of the representatives of all political parties that enjoy proven support and are committed to a peaceful and negotiated solution.

In respect of constitutional development, I wish, further, to state clearly the Government's point of view on an interim government. The idea that the present, legally constituted Government should relinquish its powers and simply hand over its responsibilities to some or other temporary regime cannot be considered in a sovereign, independent State. Effective government and administration in terms of existing constitutional legislation has to continue until a new constitution has been negotiated and implemented after the acquisition of a mandate.

However, cosideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements on the various legislative and executive levels to give the leaders of the negotiating parties a voice in the formulation of important policy decisions.

Local government

Other interim measures may be considered as well. Local government is an example.

The Government has been giving attention to reform at the local authority level for quite some time. The optons concering possible models, as contained in the report of the Coordinating Council for local Government Affairs, have stimulated debate at the local level.

In many cases, discussions opened doors to cooperation which could not be implemented because of legal impediments. This leads to frustration which has a negative influence on the process of reform.

The Government does not wish to anticipate the national process of negotiation in any way. Therefore, without wishing to establish a final structure at the local level, the decision has been taken to initiate interim steps to accommodate the dynamics of cooperation which have developed in many communities in respect of cooperation, and to give legal sanction to agreed joint actions and joint structures.

Consequently, legislation will be submitted during this session to enable communities to enter into discussions with one another on a voluntary basis and establish joint structures.

In terms of this legislation, room will be created for the following:

- The joint provision of services and the establishment of a single administration for various participating local authorities;

- The possibility for participating local authorities to take decisions at joint meetings that will be binding on all of the participants;

- The admissability of the various local authorities that wish to enter into such an agreement, proceeding to the establishment of a single body or bodies to which the powers, duties and functions of the various participating authorities may be assigned, either wholly or in part.

Currently, the Government is also giving attention to the financial implications, since progress in the development of structures for cooperation should not be impeded by financial limitations.

In fact, substantial progress has already been made with the planning of a new system of local government that will give recognition to the concept of "one municipality, one tax base". Therefore, the strategy of radicals to destroy existing structures on the local level has to end.

This senseless and futile disruption serves no purpose and merely causes pain and suffering, particularly in Black communities. Moreover, it is a serious obstacle in the way of reform and negotiation on every level. It is to the latter in particular, that those who are fighting about something which will disappear in any event, should rather direct their efforts.

Before further progress is possible in this regard, wide consultation will have to take place and I urge all who have an interest in this, to cooperate in this process of deliberaton. Overly hasty action is not indicated in this regard.

Removal of statutory discrimination

The elimination of racial discrimination goes hand in hand with the constitutional process. The Government has expressed its intention repeatedly to remove discriminatory laws and practices. Many of them have been abolished already. Those remaining could not be repealed out of hand, because their complex nature required in-depth investigation.

These investigations have now been completed to the extent that I am able to make certain announcements today.

Legislation is to be tabled shortly for the repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, the Group Areas Act of 1966 and the Developmnet of Black Communities Act of 1984, as well as all other stipulations that determine rights concerning land according to membership of population groups.

The Government will also table a White Paper in which it will fully state its approach to the future treatment of land and land questions. Both the White Paper and the relevant legislaton will be at the disposal of members shortly.

No one dares underestimate the emotions and even the conflict potential relating to land rights.

Everybody has a natural need for access to land and its utilization as living space and source of livelihood. Therefore, much more is necessary than the mere repeal of discriminatroy legislation. At the same time, provision will have to be made for the protection of rights and of making land ownership accessible.

On the one hand, there is a need for the protection of private property rights and security of title and tenure with due consideration for common and indigenous law. On the other hand, land ownership and financing for it have to be accessible to all in a non-discriminatory manner.

These points of departure will be contained in the envisaged White Paper.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 has been subjected to scrutiny as well.

On the part of the Government, the view was held that the Population Registration Act would have to be repealed eventually, but that this could not be done immediately because the Act was technically necessary for the maintenance of the present constitutional dispensation. Therefore, it would be possible to repeal the Act only once a new constitution had been implemented. Following investigation, it would, in fact, appear possible to repeal this Act, provided that this is accompanied by the adoption of temporary transitional measures towards the acceptance of a new constitution. Consequently, I announce that legislation to this effect will be tabled during this session of Parliament.

Should Parliament adopt the Government's proposals, the South African statute book will be devoid, within months, of the remnants of racially

discriminatory legislation which have become known as the cornerstones of apartheid.

Own community life

The ending of apartheid and the repeal of these last remaining discriminatory laws will bring us to the end of an era - an era in which it was sought to deal with the reality of a diversity of peoples and communities within the same national boundaries, by means of discriminatory coercion.

However, the removal of discrimination and coercion, which is now being completed, does not alter the reality of the existence of a variety of peoples and communities.

This is not unique to South Africa either.

Throughout the world, there are certain communities within countries and States that have maintained a specific identity.

Individuals who feel attracted to certain communities and feel happy and secure in them are also allowed to do so.

In South Africa, too, a deeply-rooted desire exists among some communities for a system in which certain human needs may continue to be met in a community context - without coercion, without discrimination and without apartheid.

The Government is convinced that recognition has to be given to this reality in any new dispensation. Therefore, it remains committed to ensuring community rights for those who desire them and believes that they will have to be accommodated in the new South Africa.

The Government's points of departure in this respect are that:

- People cannot be coerced into communities;
- The authorities may not discriminate against certain communities;
- A community life of one's own has to be sustained by one's own inherent will and abilities and not by statutory coercion;
- Community recognition has to be based on freedom of association, as it is recognized constitutionally and otherwise by various countries in the world.

Against this background, urgent consideration will have to be given to the question of how community rights may be rightfully accommodated in South Africa. Important political role players, inside and outside of Parliament, are in favour of the principle, and work on proposals in this regard is being widely undertaken.

Legal reform

The concept of an own community life may be associated logically and meaningfully with the concept of a bill of human rights. As is already known, the Government favours such a bill of rights and is currently awaiting the final report of the South African Law Commission.

In the widest context, the Government wishes to bring the aims it has concerning community life, into line with the concept of a just State in which the rule of law prevails, a State which does not seek to prescribe communities or community life, nor force them upon anybody, but which maintains the legal principles, measures and courts that will make it possible for people to feel secure in the communities of their choosing.

Our legal system has to be subjected to continuous scrutiny to ensure that it meets the needs of the ever-changing demands of our society. In this regard, the recognition of indigenous law, alongside common law, remains important.

The maintenance of the independence of our courts is indispensable to a stable and secure future. In this respect, our legal system, and specifically our judiciary, enjoys international recognition and respect.

Where we find ourselves on the eve of constitutional developments in which our jurisprudence will have a decisive role to play, the Government will ensure continuously that the status of our jurisprudence is enhanced and even strengthened further. This applies to all its facets, but especially to judges and magistrates.

The Chief Justice, judges president and the Minister of Justice are working on this continuously. Specific attention is also being given to the status of positions such as those of attorneys-general and magistrates.

Against the background of the world-wide trend towards simplifying legal procedures, making the legal process more accessible and involving the community with it to a great extent, several further initiatives are now indicated:

- Envisaged is a broadening and expansion of the basis of appointing assessors. The intention is to extend the system, as it currently prevails in the supreme court, to the lower courts in specific cases, as well as to make use in future, not only of jurists and experts as assessors, but also to involve ordinary members of the public served by the court concerned;

- Greater status and significance for the position of justice of the peace or a similar position, is envisaged to give them a role in the disposal of less serious, de-criminalized misdemeanours. In this way, local communities will become more intimately involved with the administration of justice, and faster settlements will be assured;

- The intention is also to make civil procedure simpler, faster and cheaper by instituting a mediation procedure and courts for an

abridged procedure in certain civil cases. A bill to this effect was submitted to Parliament today.

The Government is also occupied in numerous other fields with reform, renewal and progress directed at a new and stable dispensation. I wish to deal with some subjects in this regard.

Education

An exceptionally topical aspect of our society is education. It is well known that the Government is fully aware of, and deeply concerned about, serious problems in education.

Problems such as inadequate vocational emphasis in our school syllabuses, fragmented State administration, equal financial treatments for all pupils, finding alternative sources of finance for education, the adequate provision of facilities, liaison between formal education and the informal sector and distance education as an alternative mode of providing education receive continuous and urgent attention. To equip the individual better for his task, renewal in the educational dispensation is essential to make it more career-oriented and more closely related to the economy.

Therefore, the Government announced an investigation into a comprehensive educational renewal strategy last year already. The results are expected soon. Thereafter, the matter will be taken further seriously.

Education affects the future of everyone of us. If we wish to create a future South Africa without discrimination and with equality of opportunity, this will have to be true of education as well. However, distinctive or autogenous education, conducted with Government assistance within a single system by those who desire it, has to remain an option. For this we need the constructive cooperation of all who have an interest in education.

It is gratifying, therefore, that leaders and organizations with divergent political programmes have begun to raise their voices against the disruption and chaos which characterized the school year of 1990. I also wish to urge all involved - parents, teachers and the children themselves - to place the interests of the pupils above all else.

Political and community organizations should encourage teachers and children to make use of education and not allow schools and pupils to be abused for political purposes.

The present educational system shall and must be changed. Work on this is being done on the political and educational levels. In the meantime, education has to continue in an orderly manner.

We are determined that our ultimate system of education shall enjoy the acceptance and support of the majority of our population. It will have to be an educational system that will be affordable and in which appropriate education is offered. In addition, it will have to keep abreast of changing needs and trends in our society.

The economy

One other great imperative facing us in this closing decade of the twentieth century is economic restructuring. It is the only way through which we will be able to return to a high growth path and meet the reasonable aspirations of all our people. No economy, least of all that of a developing society, can do this overnight; but we can and must promote the creation of employment opportunities and the generation of incomes to meet the basic needs of our rapidly growing population in the shortest possible space of time.

Economic growth and constitutional reform have to be mutually reinforcing. Unless the pressing problems of poverty and unemployment are alleviated, constitutional models will be of little avail to us.

There is room for debate on economic structures, but not on the necessity of effective macro-economic management. Throughout the world, a stable, non-inflationary environment has been rediscovered as a key element of sustained economic growth. Therefore, our own fight against inflation has to enjoy top priority, as well as united and ongoing support. Failure on this front will leave us with scant hope of success on any other. Inflation does not alleviate poverty - it aggravates it.

The Government has neither the capability nor the desire to intervene directly in the price and wage determination process of the private sector. However, unjustifiable wage increases, especially in times of economic downturn, do not serve the overall public interest: they may well result in lost jobs and fan inflation. The same applies to excessive and routinely instituted price increases that fuel the wage-price spiral.

Fortunately, the past year has seen several economic gains. Our programme of economic restructuring, in line with the political and socio-economic exigencies, is firmly on course. Progress has also been made in short-term stabilization, especially concerning monetary policy. The current account of the balance of payments has been performing well and the real effective exchange rate of the rand has been comparatively stable.

Of special importance has been our new access, in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, to markets long closed to our exports, as well as our re-admission to capital markets in Western Europe. These and other opportunities resulting from the positive international reaction to the Government's initiatives, have to be grapsed firmly and decisively.

We shall continue to sustain and enhance the competitive ability of our exporters. Surplus capacity in areas such as electricity generation and transport, is being exploited through favourable power and freight charges to our manufacturers. Increased beneficiation of our abundant raw materials will continue to be encouraged. We simply cannot forego the much-needed employment opportunities this will bring about.

All concerned South Africans working for a peaceful transition to a new society wish to see the reduction and ultimate elimination of the disparities that still exist. Restructuring the economy and allocating resources to specific needs are essential to this end. Equally important, however, are the channels for deploying the resources, the involvement of the people concerned

and their acceptance of mutual responsibility.

All of our citizens have to join both in shaping and in sharing the national product. I believe the vast majority of South Africans prefer opportunities for the self-advancement of all, to largess and patronage for some.

To achieve even the goal of parity in social expenditure will require hard work and stern discipline over the next decade and beyond. Attempts to shorten this inevitably incremental process by militant action in the labour or other fields, will merely serve to lengthen it.

By contrast, some form of "social accord" on economic goals and actions would be a powerful instrument for achieving the shared national goal of a common society, offering wider material prospects and a higher quality of life to all its members. However, such an accord has to recognize these realities and provide a time span and a structure for orderly economic and social development.

I have been greatly encouraged by the progress made in the field of economic devleopment by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the South African Housing Trust, the Small Business Development Corporation and other agencies. Similarly, the Independent Development Trust and the newly announced Private Sector Initiative, operating under the aegis of the Urban Foundation, are set to make major contributions towards addressing endemic problems in housing, health and education.

The recently announced allocation by the Independent Development Trust of substantial resources directed at giving poor people access to land ownership, is of great significance. For its part, the Government is currently taking an urgent look at innovative methods of financing the provision of land and housing.

I should also like to mention the committee of Deputy Ministers, which, in close liaison with the private sector, is investigating imaginative ways of raising substantial capital funds for further development projects.

The Government places a high premium on job and income-creating growth. In broad terms, this requires:

Firstly, that maximum private sector development be encouraged.

Secondly, that the State's economic involvement be reduced in consequence to a minimum, with its residual activities based increasingly on business principles.

Thirdly, that Government policy and actions be geared to the fullest utilization of national resources. This includes a shift from import replacement and strategic self-sufficiency to export-oriented strategy, involving limited protection of domestic industry, and aimed at maximum productivity and cost-effectiveness.

Development agencies have an important role to play in adding impetus to

job creation. While celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, the Industrial Development Corporation is to be restructured so as to promote the optimal industrial development in South Africa.

The agricultural sector is primarily responsible for feeding the nation - a most important strategic consideration. It also provides both a direct and indirect base for employment and for small and informal business, and it is an important contributor to the domestic product and to our foreign exchange earnings.

It has had to grapple with severe problems during the past year, but it is assured a helping hand from the Government, where appropriate. However, aid on a blanket basis cannot be considered. Assistance has to be targeted as a bridging measure to those whose viability is not in doubt, in order to fulfill the essential mission of this sector of our economy.

The pursuit of greater economic growth demands that the remaining inhibiting legislation and administrative regulations or structures be vigorously scrutinized. Good progress has been made here too.

Deregulation, however, does not mean no regulation at all. The consumer's interests have always weighed heavily with Government. The creation of the Business Practices Committee in 1988, the proposed general codes for specific business sectors now being finalized and the role of the competition Board, represent some of the evidence of the Government's ongoing commitment to consumer protection and the proper functioning of markets.

Given the expected slowdown in the world economy, quite apart from the Gulf crisis, the economic outlook for South Africa in 1991 is one of consolidation of the gains already made, and a continuation of the restructuring process. I wish to urge all South Africans - particularly those involved in the creation of wealth - to join hands with the Government in this great and urgent effort to provide jobs and incomes.

Foreign affairs

Internationally, far-reaching changes have taken place during the past year. The world scene was dominated by the events in Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, the process towards European unity, including German unification, and, lately, the conflict in the Gulf region. These turbulent events, which have coincided with rapid and fundamental changes in our own country, will have a significant impact on the future of world politics.

With Communism a discredited and defunct ideology, and the cold war virtually something of the past, we have witnessed the removal of major obstacles in the way of achieving values and objectives which will benefit mankind as a whole.

Obviously, much remains to be done.

The Gulf war is particularly regrettable at this time. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, an independent Muslim State that has long been a recognized member

of the United Nations and of the Arab community of States, was an act of aggression which cannot be condoned. South Africa's position in regard to this is based on accepted principles of international law and is in line with the position adopted by the vast majority of States, Islamic States included.

Having said that, let me add that it is our earnest hope and prayer that this conflict will soon be brought to an end with a minimum loss of life, injury and destruction.

In addition to the Gulf war, the Palestinian issue, unpredictabilities occasioned by the unfolding situation in the Soviet Union and the spectre of the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) and poverty looming ominously over Africa, should all serve as warnings that the elimination of world crises and flashpoints has not yet been accomplished.

Nonetheless, the important reality is that a new beginning has been made out of the vortex of world events; that a climate was created, before the Gulf war erupted, in which greater freedom, greater security and greater peace could prevail than at any other time this century.

There is so much at stake for mankind, that the world dare not allow the crises now confronting it to re-create the attitudes of hostility, rivalry and suspicion which characterized international relations in all the years since the Second World War.

It is remarkable how the convergence of South African and international events has brought about greater harmony between us and the rest of the world.

The fundamental change of course we embarked upon a year ago, was motivated primarily by our national interests. Yet the progress we have made since then has created an entirely new situation for South Africa internationally. I am happy to be able to say that we have succeeded in breaking out of the dead end of isolation.

The exploitation of regional conflict in our part of the world to further ideology and power has come to an end. Political opportunism, diplomatic blackmail and playing off the two major powers against one another for the achievement of questionable political objectives cannot be used effectively against us any longer. Revolution is no longer a marketable product in the world today. The resources of the destabilization and propaganda campaigns against South Africa are drying up. The anti-South African industry is facing insolvency. Sanctions are withering away.

I have high hopes that we shall further improve our situation internationally in the year ahead. We shall be opening several new missions in Central Europe and Africa. Our contact with the rest of Africa is growing. Reciprocal visits by delegations are a frequent occurrence. We see this continuing in the future. We are also looking to the East as an area of greater opportunities. I will be undertaking further visits abroad during the course of the year.

All of this means that we are now able to look forward with greater confidence towards resuming our rightful position in the wider comity of nations and restoring the many ties which were severed over the years.

South Africa is also interested in how current world events will affect our region. At a time when there is talk of a looming marginalization of the African continent, Africa has to take stock. If Africa remains poor, underdeveloped, unstable and undemocratic, then it will isolate itself and move into inevitable obscurity. Therefore, Africa's reaction to the new international spirit which favours multi-party democracy and free-market systems, is of vital importance. We in Africa have to realize that we have to save ourselves. The world will certainly not do it for us. Regional development is of decisive importance to southern Africa. The 11 States of southern Africa have a combined population of more that 100 million. The region is endowed with valuable natural resources and has the potential to become one of the most prosperous regions in the world. However, the nations comprising the region, divided for so long by colonialism, wars, conflicts and racial strife, will have to join forces, work together and plan together.

If we succeed in this, our region would be able to realize the common aim of a better future. If we work together, we will succeed in obtaining active involvement by Europe, the United States of America and other developed countries in the developing economies of southern Africa.

Security

This positive picture, which I was able to sketch over a wide area, is contrasted by the high level of political and criminal lawlessness in the country. It is worrying and unacceptable. It has the potential to abet serious delays and even undermine the progress already made. Therefore, everything is being done to create a more conducive climate.

One of the great evils is the abuse of mass actions which degenerate all too often. In this connection, a clear distinction has to be drawn between peaceful mass actions which are part of the normal democratic process and mass actions with revolutionary aims or which lead to crime or infringe against the safety and rights of others. Lately, there has been a tendency to challenge the legal order and exceed the bounds of the normal democratic process.

Political opponents who assault and murder one another, negate every democratic principle and fan flames of hatred which will remain difficult to extinguish long after a new constitutional era has dawned.

Demonstrators who disrupt the public, harm individuals and undermine the economy are not engaged in democratic activities.

Mass action has to take place peacefully, responsibly and within the law. Should the current trend towards the abuse of this method continue in any way, the Government will be obliged to apply stronger measures to prevent abuse.

Of course it is not the task of the Government alone to act in this respect. The pressure and demands exerted on our security forces - on the

Police Force as well as the Defence Force - are already enormous. Political and community leaders have to accept co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling supporters and creating a climate for negotiation.

By and large, our security forces are doing an excellent job and do not deserve the vilification to which they are subjected from many quarters. I wish to urge all inhabitants of South Africa to give their full support to the security forces. If the authority and integrity of our police are undermined, all of us will have to pay a heavy price.

On the part of the Government, everything possible will be done as a matter of high priority to make our police force more effectve and efficient.

In respect of crime in general, the Minister of Law and Order has already announced that the police are launching a special campaign. The cumulative effect of the increase in the number of police officers, the optimal utilization of manpower and special actions and campaigns, should have the result, in terms of all reasonable expectations that crime will be combatted more effectively. The Defence Force, in particular, is making an exceptional contribution in a supporting role, to the capabilities of the Police Force. The joint capacity resulting from this cooperation will continue to be deployed effectively against the forces of chaos and anarchy.

Together with the South African Police, the Defence Force and Armscor ensure that South Africa is able to depend on a strong and ready security base that makes peace change possible. We will have to build on this further. The security forces of the new South Africa will have to be manned and managed properly. Continued national service and training have to be seen in this light. Professional and well-trained Defence and Police Forces, which are not subject to political expediency, are the best guarantee for the maintenance of a safe environment in which everybody is able to live and work. The Government will continue to ensure this.

Conclusion

The Parliamentary session beginning today will exact high demands from us. The year ahead will be as decisive as 1990.

Our ability here in Parliament and in our relations with extraparliamentary organizations to broaden cooperation and rise above petty politics will be of decisive importance.

There is neither time nor room for turning back.

There is only one road - ahead.

Ahead with courage, boldness, deliberations and planning, understanding and balance.

Ahead with purpose and dedication.

Ahead with faith and certainty in the knowledge that our future is in the

hands of the Almighty God, Lord of the destinies of peoples and nations.

It is my prayer that he will lead and sustain us in all our labours and deliberations.

II. INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO MR. DE KLERK'S STATEMENT

A. United Nations

1. Statement by the Spokesman of Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, dated 4 February 1991

The address of President de Klerk at the opening of the South African parliament advances further the process of removing statutory apartheid from the country's institutional framework. The Secretary-General hopes that these constructive initiatives will be accompanied by measures giving substantive effect to the removal of the main pillars of apartheid and by the resolution of a number of outstanding issues required for the commencement of negotiations. The Secretary-General is heartened to see that these and other initiatives of South African leaders are providing an impetus to the process of eradicating apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial and democratic society in the country as envisaged by the United Nations.

2. Statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid, H.E. Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), dated 5 February 1991

President de Klerk's announcement of 1 February 1991 undoubtedly represents a step forward in the ongoing process of bringing about fundamental change in South Africa. The repeal of the Land and Group Areas Acts, and the promise to introduce interim changes to the Population Registration Act, would remove some more institutional structures of apartheid. The Special Committee welcomes those initiatives and hopes they are accompanied by substantive policies regarding access to land by the black majority, as well as by programmes of affirmative action, which are necessary to redress the grave socio-economic inequities generated by those acts in education, housing, health and employment. It is the primary responsibility of the State to give effect to those measures.

Rather than accepting the demand of the majority of the people of South Africa for a constituent assembly and an interim Government, President de Klerk has proposed to hold a multi-party conference and to consider transitional arrangements at all levels of government. It should be recalled that the United Nations Declaration called for an agreement among all the parties concerned on the mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution based on, among others, the principles enunciated in the Declaration. It also called for transitional arrangements and modalities for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

Mr. de Klerk's silence on a number of issues crucial to the creation of an appropriate atmosphere for negotiations remains a source of serious concern. The speech made no reference to the Internal Security Act and the implementation of other agreements made with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), in particular concerning the release of political

prisoners and the return of political exiles without restrictions. It should not be forgotten that detentions without trial continue and freedom of assembly is still curtailed.

It is further disquieting that President de Klerk chose to express his public support to the security forces in the face of increasing indications that they have been far from impartial in the execution of their duties. It is hoped that the concept of community rights which has been introduced does not conceal an effort to entrench White minority privilege. Finally, the right of all South Africans to vote and be voted for is still to be realized under the new dispensation of President de Klerk, as has been pointed out by the leaders of the Black majority.

Those concerns manifest the need to fully maintain vigilance and the pressure of the international community on South Africa in line with the United Nations Declaration and subsequent consensus resolutions. Encouraged as it is by some of the latest initiatives of President de Klerk and by black South African leaders, the Special Committee is, nevertheless, convinced that appropriate pressure on South Africa should be maintained during the process of future negotiations towards the preparation and adoption of a new constitution. The road ahead might not be smooth. A rush to lift restrictive measures now would be not only contrary to the United Nations Declaration and subsequent consensus resolutions, but would also have the effect of prematurely depriving the international community of the possibility of applying effective pressure, if necessary, at a later stage.

B. Other international organizations

1. Statement by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, H.E. Chief Emeka Anyaoku, issued on 1 February 1991

I welcome President de Klerk's announcements today that the South African Government will shortly be introducing legislation in Parliament for the repeal of key elements of the apartheid structure. These measures constitute a further significant step towards the objective of ending apartheid. Accordingly, as I welcome the Government's declared legislative intentions, I would urge speedy action to remove the remaining obstacles to negotiations, in particular the release of political prisoners and the unconditional return of all political exiles. The implementation of all these measures will be the best test of the seriousness of the Government's commitment to irreversible steps towards the ending of apartheid.

For its part, the Commonwealth will continue to do all in its power to help ensure the success of the negotiations and the emergence of a stable, multi-racial South Africa. In this regard, I have been in consultation with several Commonwealth Heads of Government and will shortly be meeting with the Chairman of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa and his colleagues to review these and other developments in South Africa and how they may affect the Commonwealth's strategy.

2. Declaration on South Africa issued on 4 February 1991 by the twelve States members of the European Community

The Community and its member States warmly welcome the announcement made on 1 February by President de Klerk of further important changes to come in South Africa. These will include the repeal of the "Group Areas Act", of the two "Land Acts", and of the "Population Registration Act", which thus open the path towards the complete and irreversible abolition of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The Community and its member States recall that at its meeting on 14 and 15 December 1990, the European Council decided that as soon as legislative action is taken by the South African Government to repeal the "Group Areas Act" and the "Land Acts", the Community and its member States will proceed to an easing of the set of measures adopted in 1986. In these circumstances, the Community will prepare the necessary steps.

The Community and its member States also welcome the outcome of the meeting of 29 January between Mr. Mandela and Mr. Buthelezi, on behalf, respectively, of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Inkatha Party. The agreement between the two parties must now be implemented so as to enable discussions on the future of South Africa and to take place in a peaceful atmosphere.

3. Excerpts from the Harare Communiqué, issued by the Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 7 February 1991

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Having listened to the presentations by the national liberation movements in South Africa and taking into account the policy pronouncements made by President F. W. de Klerk on 1 February 1991, the Ad Hoc Committee concluded that the steps taken so far by the regime fell short of the demands and expectations of the people of South Africa and the international community, as expressed in both the Harare Declaration and the United Nations consensus Declaration on South Africa.

Since 2 February 1990, as a result of the internal and international pressure against it, the Pretoria regime has taken some measures towards meeting the demands contained in these Declarations. However, in spite of publicly expressed intentions by the de Klerk regime, it has failed to release all political prisoners, including detainees and those sentenced to death. It has also failed to allow the unconditional return of political exiles. Moreover, repressive legislation remains intact on the South African statute books as a result of which normal political activity cannot take place. Accordingly, the present state of affairs gives no guarantee that the political process underway in South Africa is irreversible.

Against the backdrop of the recent pronouncements by President de Klerk, the Ad Hoc Committee discussed at length the issue of sanctions. In this respect, it recalled that, at the request of the people of South Africa and

their liberation movements, the international community had been seized for decades of the situation in South Africa and had committed itself to the eradication of apartheid.

While taking note of the fact that some positive changes had taken place in South Africa, the Ad Hoc Committee resolved that there was a continuing need to maintain sanctions and all forms of pressure against the South African regime, until "transitional arrangements and modalities on the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constituion, and of the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections", were agreed. In this regard, the Committee drew the attention of the international community to the objectives stipulated in the United Nations consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 14 December 1989.

Considering the need to respect resolutions adopted by the international community, the Ad Hoc Committee urged all States to desist from actions likely to undermine their effective implementation.

With reference to the situation inside South Africa, the Ad Hoc Committee expressed grave concern at the escalation of violence fuelled by some elements of the security establishment, and deplored the tragic loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of property.

Furthermore, the Ad Hoc Committee was appalled by the reluctance on the part of the de Klerk regime to put an end to the violence and called upon the regime to bring the carnage to an end.

In the light of the attempts by the regime to undermine the liberation struggle, the Ad Hoc Committee welcomed the meetings held between ANC and Inkatha, and expressed the hope that these contacts would bring an end to the violence. In this regard, the Ad Hoc Committee urged the parties involved to adhere strictly to agreements reached.

Furthermore, the Ad Hoc Committee encouraged the holding of such meetings and urged the oppressed people of South Africa to forge wider unity among themselves. To this end, the Ad hoc Committee fully supported the proposed Patriotic Front Conference as a major development which would facilitate the emergence of a consolidated and coordinated front prior to negotiations with the South African regime.

The Ad Hoc Committee reaffirmed its total commitment to the liberation struggle in South Africa and, considering the burden placed on the liberation movements following their unbanning and the return of exiles, pledged to continue to render support to the victims of apartheid. It appealed to all States, organizations and institutions and to the Africa Fund of the Non-Aligned Movement to increase economic, humanitarian, educational and other assistance and support to the victims of apartheid.

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Courtesy of Centre against Apartheid